2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.